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Expulsion of Rev. E. E. Carr

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gol

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Rev. Edward Ellis Carr

A PERSONAL WORD

By the Editor

I was born a Socialist, judging by the convictions of my childhood, and born again a Socialist when I was converted to Christ. My vision of possible social redemption was enlarged by Bellamy's "Looking Backward," but I did not really find out what was the matter with me until, in the year 1899, I stumbled upon my first real Socialist book—Dr. Edward Aveling's translation of Marx's "Capital"—which I found in the library of the People's church, Kalamazoo, where I realized that I was a Marxian, Class-Conscious Socialist—and paid the penalty of my discovery soon afterwards. In 1900 I joined the (Debs) Social Democratic Party and helped organize the first branch in eastern Illinois, at Danville. I voted for Debs in 1900 and seem to have contracted the habit.

Socialism has cost me my pulpit, three chautauquas, my remunerative and honorable platform work, and much toil, worry and pain; but it is worth all that any or all men can give, and I glory in the work I have been privileged to do for the last ten years. My whole life and the welfare of my family (which is far dearer than life) are dedicated to the Socialist movement. I have enlisted for the whole Socialist campaign and shall remain faithful while I live.

As I seek not honor nor office in the movement, but only to serve the cause, I do not need to crawl before ambitious officials for an opportunity to work. I shall write and lecture as formerly, and shall join the Socialist party again as soon as it will permit me in honor to do so. But I shall not creep in through a hole in the wall nor come bearing the white flag of cowardly apology and submission to wrong.

All the real friends that I have made in the Socialist cause will undoubtedly stand by me now and help to right the immeasureable injustice that has been done.

And I earnestly urge all Socialists to join and stay with the Socialist party. Through the referendum the members can make it what they will, which is true of no other party in America; and complete, constant control by the rank and file is the only hope of any party or country.

As to my ever having said that the Socialist party or movement stands for free love—all readers of the **Christian Socialist** know that the charge is absurdly false; and all who are really acquainted with me know that if I had ever thought that the Socialist party or movement stands for free love I would have left it at that time.

E. E. CARR.

"God is descending from eternity,
And all things, good and evil, build the road."

Official Injustice Reaches [illegible] Climax and Brings a Crisis

No thoughtful person will fail to realize that the expulsion of the editor of the **Christian Socialist** from the Socialist Party as a sequel to the Barnes case marks a climax to official injustice, and a great crisis in the Socialist Party of America—not on account of himself personally, but ON ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE CONDEMNED AND OPPOSED, AND ON ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE REPRESENTS IN THE MOVEMENT.

This last outrage will arouse thousands of comrades who have heretofore been comparatively indifferent to the well-nigh incredible condition into which the official clique has degenerated. Therefore, as this paper will reach thousands who have heretofore been kept in the dark, or deceived in the matter; and as the Barnes case has assumed such unexpected and serious proportions in the movement, we think it wise to review the case briefly from the beginning.

The First Stage

Rumors of serious misconduct on the part of National Secretary Barnes had been floating around for several years and on May 14, 1910, three separate typewritten charges, signed respectively by Mother Jones, James H. Brower, and Marguerite Flaherty, involving dishonesty, drunkenness, immorality and incompetency on the part of Barnes, were presented to the National Executive Committee then in session in Chicago.

A strange and unusual attempt was made to keep these charges secret. A closed session of the committee was held, from which the accusers but not the accused were excluded; the accusers were put off from day to day for a week while the committee was in the city and then an attempt was made to make it appear that someone else less prominent than Mother Jones was back of her charges—which were dismissed as "frivolous" (see our issue of April 6, 1911)—while Miss Flaherty's charges of drunkenness and immorality were for the time ignored, and Brower's charges were postponed for thirty days, though his demand for an investigation of the condition of the National Office itself required immediate attention from the nature of the charges. (A fuller account of this matter is given in our Jan. 26th, 1911, and our April 20th, 1911, issues.)

Suffice here to say that—afterwards confessing that they had never investigated any of these grave and vital charges at all—the National Executive Committee formally dismissed all these charges at a meeting in August, 1910, at New York City, 800 miles away from all the accusing witnesses, none of whom had been heard.

We maintain that, in view of the extreme seriousness of these charges both from the standpoint of the business efficiency and moral character required in all reason by the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, the N. E. C., by closing the cases against Barnes uninvestigated, committed an offense against the welfare of the Party so great as to disqualify each and every one of them from service on the N. E. C. A careful and thorough investigation of charges so grave was the least that could justly be required of the N. E. C., which was elected to serve the interests of the Party, not to protect individual officials accused of such serious offenses against the welfare and good name of the movement.

But not only was Barnes formally acquitted without a trial, but those who had accused him, especially Brower, Mother Jones and Thos. J. Morgan (who had published news of the case in his Provoker) were attacked in the Official Bulletin of the Socialist Party in a manner calculated to discredit them among all Socialists.

Thus officialdom unjustly protected the accused and unjustly assaulted the accusers.

The Second Stage

When this important "incident" was "closed" in such a remarkable manner, in the absence of all the accusing witnesses, the Editorial Committee of the **Christian Socialist**, whose members had been following and discussing the amazing proceedings, decided to express a protest through the columns of the paper. Therefore, on Oct. 1, 1910, four months and a half after charges were preferred by Mother Jones, James H. Brower and Miss Flaherty, a brief editorial was published condemning the action of the N. E. C. in closing the case without a fair trial, demanding a thorough investigation, and expressing a hope that Barnes might be able to clear himself in a fair and unmistakable manner. (This editorial and a similar one which appeared two weeks later were reprinted in the Jan. 26th, 1911, issue.)

These editorials were self-evidently fair and reasonable. And the N. E. C. effectually admitted them to be so by yielding to their demand for a reopening of the case. (As the representative of the N. E. C. and in the presence of the members of the N. E. C. at the February "investigation," Hillquit stated that the February investigation was undertaken because of the **Christian Socialist** editorials.) Nevertheless, while yielding to the just demands of the **Christian Socialist** to reopen the Barnes case, the N. E. C. sent out through the National Bulletin to all party branches a fierce, unfair and harmful attack upon the **Christian Socialist** at the same time refusing our rightful request to send reprints of our short editorials along so that the comrades might know just what we had said in order that they might judge fairly.

This cowardly, false and infamous assault on the **Christian Socialist**, while they refused to send our utterances along with it, fully demonstrates the unsocialistic, unfair and tyrannical attitude of the N. E. C. Until they do all they can to redress the wrong, all their talk of the "freedom of the press" and "justice" will be as "sounding brass." No capitalist government could be more unfair than that. If a paper may be stabbed in the dark in such an arbitrary, false and cowardly manner for criticism of the official acts of the members of the N. E. C., then no Socialist paper dares tell the truth about the conduct of party officials.

If the Socialist Party is to be kept in ignorance of official mistakes or crimes because the Socialist papers dare not speak the truth, where is our boasted "democracy" and "freedom of the press"?

All any government tyrants and grafters need is to keep the people in ignorance, and any government or nation, church or party will become hopelessly corrupt unless complete freedom of criticism is allowed.

But the very life of the **Christian Socialist** was attempted by the N. E. C. on account of those two brief editorials which it was forced to heed. And we unhesitatingly declare that such a spirit of tyranny and such acts of injustice are utterly unworthy of Socialist officials.

The Third Stage

As a result of the public demand of the

Christian Socialist for an investigation of the Barnes case, it was reopened by the N. E. C.; and the National Committee (a larger body composed of members from all the states) was requested to elect a trial committee, which it did.

But, behold! This Investigating Committee was not only called upon to try Secretary Barnes, but also to try Morgan and the Provoker, and Carr and the **Christian Socialist** for having published what they did about the matter. (Remember that at the time this grilling of Carr and the **Christian Socialist** was demanded by the N. E. C. WE HAD ONLY PUBLISHED THE BRIEF EDITORIALS OF OCT. 1ST AND 15TH. OUR TERRIFIC BROADSIDE OF JAN. 26TH HAD NOT THEN BEEN FIRED.)

The account of the flippant, buldozing, unjust pretense of a trial of Barnes by the "Investigating Committee," scarcely one of whom would have had the slightest chance of getting on the jury if the case had been tried in civil law, is given at length in our issues of April 6th and April 20th, 1911. It is enough here to say that the minutes of that trial prove beyond doubt that the report of the "Investigating Committee" basely misrepresents the evidence. Yet that Committee brazenly cleared Barnes and the women involved with him in the charges and at the same time most falsely and foully charged Mother Jones with **blackmail** (claiming that she had forced Barnes to pay a debt the second time "under duress") branded the editor of the **Christian Socialist** as a liar and bitterly condemned Morgan and Brower. All who were connected with the prosecution were condemned and held up to the scorn of the party in the report, scores of thousands of which were scattered over the country before the National Committee had voted on the question of adopting it.

Not content with placing white wings and a halo on the accused National Secretary, the committee could not stop until it had painted Mother Jones, Morgan, Carr and Brower black and fastened upon them horns, cloven feet and spiked tails!

Naturally, such an **infamous report** raised a storm all over the party. Instead of closing the incident, this idiotic report opened it wider than ever. Mother Jones' friends, who number tens of thousands, sprang to arms in her defense. The Miners' Magazine, the most powerful labor journal west of the Mississippi, opened a paralyzing cannonade upon Barnes and his defenders. The **Christian Socialist** discharged its thunders of April 6th and 20th. The Provoker, the Militant, the Observer, and other papers joined the battle, and scores of Socialist Branches started or seconded referendums of all sorts calculated to put the whole official clique out of business once for all. The Hallettsville amendment was passed to the consternation of the old-time bosses of the party; and, because they are likely to lose office, these long-time bosses are raising the cry that the party is being disrupted! (If they could only realize how very amusing they are it might save them from worse misfortunes than the loss of office!)

The Fourth Stage

And, strange to say, for all this excitement in the party, and for all this terror lest they lose their official jobs, the accused officials have made common cause against the editor of the **Christian Socialist**, as if he were the cause of it all. Not one of the three comrades who brought the charges against Barnes has been cited for trial; and even Morgan has escaped thus far, but upon the devoted head of Comrade Carr has fallen the vials of official wrath and he was slated to be the scape-goat to bear the sins of them all, and to be driven out into the wilderness to perish. Alas, it is not the first time that the innocent has been made to suffer for the guilty.

The 7th Ward Branch to which Comrade Carr belonged, with the consent of himself and friends (whose consent may prove to have been wise or unwise according to the ultimate outcome), preferred charges (prepared by a few members in harmony with the recommendations of the "Investigating Committee" above mentioned which had no jurisdiction) to the Cook County Delegate Committee, which in turn referred them to the Grievance Committee as recorded in another column. And Comrade Carr was expelled with much public misrepresentation. And so the record of official injustice and tyranny is complete from top to bottom.

The N. E. C., refusing to try Barnes, **attempted to discredit all his accusers.**

The same N. E. C., acknowledging the reasonableness of the demands of the **Christian Socialist** for trial of Barnes, reopened the case **and at the same time attempted to kill the paper.**

The "Investigating Committee" cleared Barnes **and recommended the expulsion of those who had accused him and of Morgan and Carr for agitating the case.**

The Cook County Committee expelled Carr and whitewashed Barnes, the N. E. C., the Investigating Committee and the two women involved.

Speaking of "class-consciousness," the class consciousness of the officials as an official clique, as a party machine, has been demonstrated beyond possible doubt! And the whole history of the Barnes case demonstrates the absolute need of limiting the terms of officials of the party in future so that they may not be able again to form an iron clad official machine able to protect itself from criticism by the suppression of information and the expulsion of its critics.

If the present Socialist party fails to command the labor movement of America and ceases to be its chief political representative it will not be because of the influence of Bryan, LaFollette, Gompers and other radicals, but because of hidebound party loyalty to an officially class-conscious clique, too long honored and too long tolerated as "leaders."

Let the rank and file now take control and protect true democracy and the freedom of the press within the party, if it would save the beloved organization for which so many thousands of us have toiled and sacrificed for so many years.

Rev. E. E. Carr, Expelled From Socialist Party

From the Chicago Daily Socialist; of Saturday July 1, 1911

To the Members of Locals of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: The Socialist party of Cook county, Illinois, represented by its delegate committee at a meeting held June 25, 1911, expelled from its membership, the Rev. Edw. Ellis Carr, by a vote of 51 for expulsion and 21 against.

This action was taken in response to charges made by the Seventh Ward branch in the city of Chicago, Comrades Mabel Hudson and Lena Morrow Lewis. The charges of the Seventh Ward are as follows:

Chicago, Ill., April 25, 1911.

To the Delegate Committee of the Socialist Party of Local Cook County:

Comrades—The Seventh Ward branch of the Socialist party of Cook county hereby prefers charges against Rev. Edward Ellis Carr for conduct unbecoming a Socialist.

In support hereof we charge Rev. E. E. Carr with publishing under date of October 1 and October 15, 1910, and January 26, April 6, April 13 and April 20, 1911, in a privately owned paper called the "Christian Socialist," scandalous matter (which, upon investigation, has been shown to be unsustained), calculated to defame the character of members and officers of the Socialist party and to disrupt the party organization.

We further charge that the publication of this matter in the "Christian Socialist" has been used by enemies of the Socialist party to discourage prospective members from joining the Socialist party and to disrupt the party organization.

In view of the seriousness of these charges we recommend that E. E. Carr be placed on trial by your body and further recommend that the trial be conducted evenings and Sundays so that party members who wish to attend may have an opportunity to do so.

Fraternally submitted,
JOHN C. FLORA, Chairman.
CARL KRAUS, Secretary.

Seventh Ward Branch of the Socialist Party of Cook Co.

These charges, together with the ones preferred by Comrades Hudson and Lewis, the substance of which is embraced in the charges of the Seventh ward and added thereto the charge of malicious slander, were referred to the Grievance Committee which met in eight evening and one afternoon sessions.

During these sessions the entire matter of Mr. Carr's charges, and also the charges made against him were taken up.

It was found that Mr. Carr had made charges against members and officials of the Socialist party in a privately owned paper called the "Christian Socialist."

These charges were found to be entirely false and misleading, and the substance of the charges by Mr. Carr was that the National Secretary of the Socialist party and also organizers and employes of the party advocated and practiced free love and were also drunkards.

While using careful language and employing modifying words such as "if these things are so" and "when conditions became such and such" and other similar expressions of escape, the entire impression made by his attacks left no other conclusion in the minds of the readers than that the whole party is corrupt; that officials are moral degenerates and that the movement as a whole stands for the worst forms of immorality.

When Mr. Carr was called upon to substantiate his charges he had no evidence whatever to present. Only in some instances did he have distant hearsay statements which no right minded individual or committee could accept as justification for his slanderous articles.

Mr. Carr had been given a chance before the investigation committee, elected by the national committee of the Socialist party, to make good his charges when that committee met in Chicago in February, 1911.

Failing to substantiate his charges before that committee he nevertheless continued his campaign of slander. It soon became evident that the motive of Mr. Carr was not the welfare of the party, but its disruption.

As a result of the several issues of the "Christian Socialist" vilifying both committees and individuals who had not prostituted themselves to his will, many local organizations were misled and several motions for national referendums were made on the strength of his attacks, showing the disruptive influence of his publication. Proof positive was presented showing that the enemies of the party were using the charges published by Mr. Carr.

Owing to the fact that the party press and Socialist publications in general refused to besmirch their columns with even so much as an answer to his villainous onslaught, the membership as a whole began to believe that there was some actual truth in his statements.

When the charges by the Seventh Ward had been handed in Mr. Carr sent communications to members of the delegate committee as well as other party members, presenting his side of the case and endeavoring to prejudice their minds by threats and otherwise.

No communications were sent in any way by the prosecution, leaving the membership free to judge for themselves the evidence presented at the trial which was held publicly evenings and Saturdays in order to give the membership an opportunity to attend.

The grievance committee reported in part as follows:

"Comrade Carr testified that he personally knew nothing of the truth or falsity of the various accusations made in his paper.

"The evidence introduced by Comrade Carr in defense of his publication was all indirect, known as hearsay evidence. The committee being desirous to ascertain all facts in the cases, permitted the widest latitude in the introduction of evidence. . . .

"Comrade Carr, as a Socialist, should have respected the constitution of the Socialist party in the manner of handling grievances against members. Evidence was introduced showing that his attention had been called to the method of procedure if he had real or imaginary charges against members. In the case of the Seventh Ward vs. Comrade Carr, we find that the charges made were fully substantiated.

"In the case of Comrade Hudson vs. Carr we find from the evidence submitted in support of Carr's accusations published against Comrade Hudson that they were based on hearsay evidence and uncorroborated. And we also find that Comrade Hudson is innocent of any of the accusations made against her.

"In the case of Comrade Lewis vs. Comrade Carr we find that the evidence submitted in support of the accusations published by Carr against Mrs. Lewis was entirely hearsay evidence and assumptions, unsubstantiated. Letters introduced from different parts of the United States were conclusive to the committee of the innocence of Comrade Lewis of any and all the accusations made against her.

"Comrade Carr was guilty of conduct unbecoming a Socialist when he published the accusations against officials and members of the party in a privately owned paper, without first ascertaining whether they were true or false.

"Comrade Carr was guilty of conduct unbecoming of a Socialist when he, without first having made his charges known to the County Delegate Committee for a hearing as to their truth or falsity, published them broadcast to the world.

"Comrade Carr was guilty of the charge of conduct unbecoming a Socialist, in the manner in which the accusations were made against party members in the "Christian Socialist," being so published as to convey to the readers the belief that they were facts which had been deliberately suppressed by the National Investigating Committee.

"We, therefore, recommend to your body that Comrade Carr be expelled from the party.

"(Signed) JOSEPH L. NAYLOR,
"I. GOLDENSTEIN,
"M. J. MEYERS,
"JOHN C. FLORA.

Minority Report

"June 25, 1911.

"P. S.—I agree in entirety with the findings of the committee with the exception of the penalty requested. I recommend that Comrade Carr be suspended for one year. "T. J. COVENEY."

After this report the Cook County Delegate Committee, in sessions lasting eight hours, gave Mr. Carr unlimited time and opportunity to defend himself. After careful consideration a vote was taken resulting in his expulsion from the Socialist party.

On motion his publication called the "Christian Socialist" was ordered removed from the list of Socialist publications published in the National Socialist Bulletin.

Both Mr. Carr and his attorney declared that the Grievance Committee had been absolutely fair and impartial in the hearing of the case of the Seventh Ward against him and that he was satisfied to rest his case with the committee and abide by its verdict.

But immediately upon the report of the Grievance Committee Mr. Carr pronounced that the committee was unduly influenced and prejudiced in spite of the fact that both he and his attorney had previously stated that he had been given an absolutely fair trial.

Mr. Carr was not expelled because he stood against free love, but because he slandered the party by declaring that it advocated and practiced free love, which is untrue.

In expelling Mr. Carr the Socialist party does not suppress the freedom of speech or of the press, but holds that party members making unfounded charges and persisting in deliberately spreading them broadcast before the world must not have the prestige and weight that party membership gives.

Mr. Carr argued that if he be expelled it was proof positive that the party therefore stands for free love and immorality. The Socialist party of Cook county repudiated this insinuation and refers to Socialist literature as well as party platforms and the membership as a whole for its position on this subject.

The Socialist party never has and never will indorse free love and immorality as Mr. Carr has charged against it and which he may continue to charge.

It will therefore be seen that Cook county, in expelling Mr. Carr, only acted in defense of the Socialist party and in defense of men and women whose characters he sought to wreck.

It also appears that to keep Mr. Carr in the party would give support to his false charges and bring discredit upon the Socialist movement and therefore the party was compelled to remove him from its membership.

By order of the Delegate Committee of the Socialist party, Local Cook County, Illinois.

W. E. RODRIGUEZ, Chairman.
JAS. P. LARSEN, Secretary.

June 29, 1911.

* * *

A FEW CORRECTIONS

To those who are even fairly well acquainted with the facts in connection with the Barnes case, the official report reprinted above will seem insanely false.

There can be but one ultimate result of all this bitter persecution and stupendous misrepresentation of Comrade Carr; and that result will be his complete vindication at last and the exposure of his vilifiers to the just contempt of true Socialists.

There are so many glaring and misleading misstatements in the above report that space will not permit our mentioning all; but in order that the truth may be known to all those who desire it, we will point out some of the most flagrant attempts to deceive honest comrades and to cover up the crimes of party officials.

The Accusers

1. **Comrade Carr never made any charges against Secretary Barnes, Mrs. Hudson or Mrs. Lewis.** The charges against Barnes of drunkenness, incompetency and neglect of business were presented in separate writings by Jas. H. Brower and Marguerite Flaherty on May 14, 1910. The charges of immorality were presented by Miss Flaherty and Mother Jones in separate writings May 14 1910. The charge of dishonesty was presented by Mother Jones in writing May 14, 1910. That is, **three separate written charges against Barnes were presented to the National Executive Committee of the Party on May 14, 1910,** by James H. Brower, Mother Jones and Marguerite Flaherty, which charges, as noted above, included charges of dishonesty, drunkenness, immorality and incompetency.

Mr. Carr never knew that charges by these comrades were contemplated or made until long afterwards. He had nothing whatever to do with them.

The crime of Comrade Carr consists in that, **beginning five months after the charges were presented and six weeks after the N. E. C. had dismissed these terrible charges WITHOUT ANY INVESTIGATION and declared the incident "closed," the Christian Socialist began** to let the comrades of the Party at large know of the charges and the unwise conduct of the N. E. C.

The Editor of the Christian Socialist was first recommended for expulsion by the N. E. C. and by the "Investigating Committee" BECAUSE HE CRITICIZED THE CONDUCT OF THE N. E. C. with reference to the Barnes case in our issues of Oct. 1st and 15th and Jan. 26th.

The issues of April 6, 13, and 20, 1911, which contain the matter concerning which Comrade Carr was placed on trial this summer and which the 7th Ward statement declares "upon investigation were shown to be unsustained" **were not printed until after the so-called "investigation" referred to was held.**

The fact is, Comrade Carr was placed on trial, not because he had made or printed charges against any one, but because the **Christian Socialist** printed criticisms of party officials (supposed by some superstitious party members to be infallible) and because the **Christian Socialist** printed THE GIST OF THE EVIDENCE IN THE BARNES CASE in its issues of April 6th and 20th.

Why were not Mother Jones, Brower, and Miss Flaherty, who made the charges, placed on trial, if their charges are false?

If "There was not the slightest evidence" to prove their charges, why were they not expelled for slander?

If the evidence presented at the investigation was so slight and so weak that it deserved no attention from the Committee, **why was it a crime to publish that evidence in the Christian Socialist? The weaker the chain of evidence, the more the accused would have desired it published.** But it was doubtless because THE CHAIN OF EVIDENCE PUBLISHED WAS NOT WEAK BUT TERRIBLY STRONG AND CONVINCING that the conspiracy was formed to expel the editor and crush the **Christian Socialist.** Nevertheless,

"The best laid schemes of mice and men
Gang aft agley."

Not daring to attack Mother Jones and James H. Brower to "make an example" of them and expel them from the party, the officials concluded **that by an appeal to anti-religious prejudice before a body of anti-Christians,** they could make a scape-goat of the editor of the **Christian Socialist as a warning** to all others not to dare publish uncomplimentary truths about officials of the party.

"What fools we mortals be!"

THE NOTORIOUS BARNES CASE CAN NOT BE "CLOSED" NOR HIDDEN BY THE EXPULSION OF AN INNOCENT MAN FROM THE PARTY FOR THE "CRIME" OF TELLING THE COMRADES WHAT THE BARNES CASE IS AND WHAT EVIDENCE WAS PRODUCED.

Barnes' Hiding Place

2. No charges were made directly against any women, but against National Secretary J. M. Barnes; and unfortunately, it being impossible to convict a man of that particular kind of immorality without incidentally involving a woman, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson were named in the charges of Miss Flaherty and in the testimony presented before the "Investigating Committee" **both orally and by signed letters.** The charges were not directed against the women but from the nature of the case their names could not be kept out. In printing the testimony the **Christian Socialist** necessarily used the names of these women; **and Barnes immediately began frantic efforts to hide himself behind an appeal in behalf of the very women whose unfortunate association with him had brought them into such unpleasant notoriety.** The game was well played; and, for the time, the shelter of these women has afforded him relief; but it will be only temporary, for the comrades are finding him out.

The Christian Socialist

3. Much prejudice has been aroused bv the repeated statement that the **Christian Socialist** is "privately owned"—in face of the fact that the Socialist Party in National Convention assembled has repeatedly refused to endorse any paper as an official organ and has persistentlv refused to establish an official organ. Nearly all the Socialist papers of America are "privately owned" **in the same sense that the Christian Socialist is;** for instance, the International Socialist Review and the Appeal to Reason. The **Christian Socialist** is owned by many comrades who hold its stock; and no person, no three persons, and no family, nor two families own a majority of its stock. Both the two papers named above are controlled by fewer people than is the **Christian Socialist.** Therefore, such an appeal to blind and unreasonable party prejudices will not go very far with fair and thoughtful people.

And, if the **Christian Socialist** were guilty of the "slander and misrepresentation" charged, **WHY DO NOT BARNES AND THE WOMEN INVOLVED WITH HIM SUE THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST AT LAW WHERE WE COULD COMPEL THE ATTENDANCE OF WITNESSES, PUT ALL WITNESSES UNDER OATH AND IMPEACH THEM FOR PERJURY IF THEY BEAR FALSE WITNESS, AND WHERE WE COULD IMPANEL A JURY NOT ALREADY COMMITTED TO ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER?** We have hurled these questions into the teeth of the Barnes crowd several times, but "there is a reason" why they do not avail themselves of such "vindication" and "redress."

By the way, what right has a County Committee to decide whether a paper should be listed among Socialist papers in the National Bulletin?

Will the Christian Socialist be any less a Socialist paper or any less influential because of such unjust and childish action? Thousands of sane and loyal comrades will answer NO.

About the Socialist Party

4. The statement in the above report that Comrade Carr, or the **Christian Socialist,** has ever sought to leave the impression upon its readers by direct or indirect statements, or otherwise, "that the whole Socialist Party is corrupt; that its officials (in general) are moral degenerates, and that the movement as a whole stands for the worst forms of immorality" IS KNOWN TO BE FALSE BY EVERY READER OF THIS PAPER. No man and no paper ever did so much directly to defend the Socialist movement from such charges as Comrade Carr did in the Anti-Hill Special; and other issues of the **Christian Socialist** have frequently and strenuously taken the same position. **Because of his defense of the Socialist Party and movement from just such charges, thousands of the best people morally have become voting Socialists and hundreds have come into the Socialist Party.** We do condemn certain persons, but THEY ARE NOT THE SOCIALIST PARTY, and they will soon find it out. And when the Socialist party finds them out, they will no longer be officials.

The Kind of Evidence

5. The report states that "only hearsay evidence" was introduced; whereas all the evidence presented by Jas. H. Brower, Walter Rihl, Miss Flaherty, Robt. Howe, Mrs. Quimby, Mrs. Starkweather, Mr. and Mrs. Slusser was direct. Part of the testimony was oral and part written and signed. Perhaps the Committee does not know what "hearsay evidence" is. Those who wish to know the evidence in the case may find it in the **Christian Socialist** of April 6th and April 20th, especially April 20th, copies of which may still be had.

If the evidence had not been so direct and convincing we believe that the minutes of the Barnes trial before the "Investigating Committee" would have been printed long ago. Why does not the Barnes clique have those minutes printed for his own and their vindication, if "there was not the slightest evidence presented" to convict him of immorality?

The suppression of the minutes of the Barnes trial appears a confession that the charges against him were proved and that he does not want the Comrades to know.

Before the Investigating Committee

6. The above report says: "Mr. Carr had been given a chance before the investigating committee elected by the National Committee of the Socialist Party, to make good his charges when that committee met in Chicago in February, 1911."

The ignorance or mendacity of this state-

ment is shown by the following facts. (1) Mr. Carr had made no charges at all. (2) He did not know what the evidence was until that investigation was held. (3) It was for printing the REPORT of that "Investigation" AFTERWARD that Mr. Carr was tried and expelled.

"By Threats and Otherwise"

7. The statement of the report that Mr. Carr endeavored to prejudice the minds of the Delegate Committee "by threats and otherwise" was shown to be a falsehood at the meeting of the Delegate Committee itself, and is proven by the letter referred to, a copy of which we present.

Dear Comrade:—

We are sending you copies of the **Christian Socialist** containing our account of the Barnes case, involving Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson. As this matter will sooner or later come before the Cook County Delegate Committee, of which I understand you are a member, I hope you will read up this matter, carefully studying the account in the **Christian Socialist** from start to finish, and see if you do not realize that we have done right in publishing this account.

We hope that you desire to do what is just to the individuals concerned, and what is best for the Party; and the responsibility is heavy upon you now, for the Barnes case will be historic in the Socialist movement, and it cannot be settled till it is settled right.

Any arbitrary and unjust conduct on the part of the Cook County Delegate Committee which might result in a hasty and inconsiderate expulsion of the Editor of the **Christian Socialist** from the Socialist Party could not possibly be the means of settling and dismissing the case, but would only be the means of opening the affair up still more.

All we ask is a square deal and an equitable decision in the matter. This will be impossible unless every member of the Delegate Committee reads carefully and in a fair minded way the **Christian Socialist** account for **which charges were made against me.**

Fraternally,
E. E. Carr.

As all the "offenses" Comrade Carr and the **Christian Socialist** had committed were contained in the copies of the paper referred to, **he was not seeking to hide an offense but to reveal what he had actually said by sending these copies.** No sincere man could take the letter as a threat, but rather as an exhortation to realize the importance of the case so that he might read the papers and be informed as to its real merits, so that he might fairly decide.

The Proper Method

8. Much has been said about the method that should have been followed. Be it remembered, (1) that Comrade Carr had nothing to do with the case for months after the charges were preferred; (2) that Mother Jones, Jas. H. Brower and Miss Flaherty did prefer their charges before the National Executive Committee, which was the proper thing, as they were not charges against Barnes as a private party-member, but as a party official subject to the N. E. C.; (3) It was not until after both the N. E. C. and the "Investigating Committee" had infamously whitewashed the case that the **Christian Socialist** published the charges and the evidence. **By that time the secret, star-chamber methods had been tried and found wanting. Nothing but publicity and plenty of it would do any good then.**

Besides, why did not our objectors USE the the methods they recommended? Were they not as much under obligation to keep the party offices clean as anyone? Comrade Carr did what he thought was right, **why did they not do what THEY so highly recommend?**

"Evidence Conclusive"

9. The Grievance Committee states that letters came from all parts of the U. S. which were conclusive to the Committee that Mrs. Lewis was innocent of all the charges against her.

Because some did not know of any wrong done by Mrs. Lewis, does that invalidate the direct and clear testimony of Mrs. Starkweather, Mrs. Quimby, Mr. and Mrs. Slusser, Miss Flaherty and Walter Rihl? (See issue of April 20th.) Direct testimony can not be rebutted by evidence that at **some other time, some other place,** and **before certain other people** a person did not commit the offense charged and proved **at certain times and places** in **presence of people originally testifying.** Any "prisoner at the bar" could get hundreds of people to say they never saw or heard him commit the offense. **But the word of two or three witnesses who did hear and see would outweigh the word of a million who did not.**

The nine points noted above are only samples of about twenty similar points of misrepresentation which occur in the report. The comrades responsible for the report were so obsessed with the idea that "the party machine must be protected" and "the good name of the party must be saved" by any ruse that they have overlooked the fact that THE GOOD NAME, THE POWER AND LIFE OF THE PARTY CAN NOT BE SAVED BY INJUSTICE AND MISREPRESENTATION. The idea that it is the proper thing to lie in behalf of a good cause sometimes misleads the best intentioned people.

* * *

A CHANGE OF MIND

When the trial of Comrade Carr began, the 7th Ward charges only were read by the prosecution. The charges of "Slander" made by Mrs. Hudson and Mrs. Lewis were held back. But when, after the second night's trial, the nine specifications were brought in, Comrade Cunnea objected to the consideration of the specifications that referred to the charges of Mrs. Lewis or Mrs. Hudson until their respective charges were tried, claiming that Carr could not justly be tried twice on the same charges. He declared that he was perfectly willing to bunch all the charges and try all three cases at once, but that Carr should not be tried twice on the same charges. Whereupon Mrs. Hudson with the support of Barnes vehemently DEMANDED that her charges be tried separately. SHE UTTERLY REFUSED TO HAVE HER CHARGES CONSIDERED AS A PART OF THE MAIN CASE.

The defense made no objection to this, but moved to exclude the matters referring to the Hudson and Lewis charges from the 7th Ward case. This motion was unwisely and unjustly over-ruled by the Committee and the defense was required to cover the ground of all three cases in the first case, yet prepare to meet the two other cases later. This was done so well that, after the 7th Ward trial was finished, Barnes, Hudson and their supporters began clamoring to have the other two charges tried before judgment was rendered on the first.

Having personally heard part of this unfair demand and having heard more of it from friends, Carr consulted his attorney and sent to the Grievance Committee the following letter:

Chicago, June 13, 1911.

To the Grievance Committee of the Socialist Party of Cook County, Illinois:

Dear Comrades: I am informed that certain persons are insisting upon your hurrying the charges of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson against me to a trial before the case now pending is fully decided; and I believe from the fair and earnest manner in which you have proceeded thus far, that you have both the purpose and courage to do what is right in the matter. Therefore, I beg to present the following for your consideration:

1. We were willing, as you know, to have all the charges tried in **one case** at **one trial,** which would have required us to introduce evidence that we necessarily reserved when **the Lewis and Hudson charges were held back for subsequent trial upon the demand of Mrs. Hudson.**

2. If I am expelled on the Seventh Ward charges, the Hudson and Lewis charges can never be tried by the Socialist Party.

3. If I am acquitted on the Seventh Ward charges, **and not till then,** can the other cases be taken up. Therefore, the present case **must** in all **fairness be fully disposed** of by the Grievance Committee and by the Delegate Committee before the other cases can be taken up.

4. Therefore, upon the advice of my attorney, with which I fully agree, I desire you, and the Delegate Committee, and all others concerned, to know that I **will not appear before any Socialist Party Tribunal for trial on any other charges whatsoever until the Seventh Ward case is fully disposed of.**

There are three reasons for this which will doubtless appear reasonable to you and to all other honest persons: (1) It would be a foolish and wearisome waste of time and energy upon our part, as well as upon yours, to go on with a second and third trial while the first is pending whose decision might (and if it were against me would) render the other trials utterly useless. (2) In common justice to myself, my friends and the Party, I will refuse to be put in jeopardy twice at the same time. (3) The Committee would be in danger of confusion if all the evidence on two or three cases were pending at once.

5. Rather than be "railroaded" out of the Party by undue haste and unfair management of my case at the demand of Barnes, Lewis, Hudson—who were accused originally—and their factional supporters, I would rather be arbitrarily expelled for refusing to appear in other cases while the first case is pending; because I have a legal and moral right to have judgment pronounced and executed in the first case before any other is tried.

6. I shall stand upon my rights and demand that the Lewis and Hudson charges be heard in trials entirely separate from each other, if they are ever tried at all.

It is agreed by both sides that this series of Jones-Flaherty-Brower-Barnes-Hudson-Lewis-N. E. C.-Carr cases is the most important that ever came before the Socialist Party, and it is necessary for all persons concerned—and especially for the Socialist Party—that a rational, fair and regular course be pursued.

And I therefore present this declaration to you, and through you to all who are concerned, **in due time to prevent the embarrassment to all of us which would be inevitable if a time were set for the other trials before the pending case is fully settled** by the Delegate Committee according to just procedure.

Permit me to state also that Comrade Harvey P. Moyer, as my personal representative, was present at the Delegate Committee meeting last Sunday to make the above statements, but was not allowed the floor.

Trusting that you will see the reasonableness of my position, and act upon it justly, I am,

Respectfully and fraternally,
E. E. Carr.

To this letter the following reply was received:

Chicago, June 14th, 1911.

E. E. Carr, Old No. 27 Randolph street.

Dear Comrade: I have been instructed by the Grievance Committee to notify you that the case of Mabel Hudson and Mrs. L. M. Lewis vs. E. E. Carr, has been set for hearing Friday night, June 16th, 8 p. m., at county headquarters. You will therefore please have your witnesses on hand.

By instruction of the Grievance Committee.

Jas. P. Larsen.
County Secretary.

P. S.—Your letter addressed to the Grievance Committee was turned over to them at their session last evening (Tuesday, June 13), and same was considered by them before giving me instructions to send out the above notice.

After duly considering the above peculiar action of the Committee, in consultation with his attorney, Comrade Carr sent this letter:

Chicago, June 16, 1911.

To the Grievance Committee of the Cook County Socialist Local:

Dear Comrades—Yours of June 14th, notifying me to appear again for trial Friday night, June 16th, before the former trial has reached a final conclusion, is at hand.

Permit me to refer you again to my letter of June 13th, to which we shall firmly adhere. There is no legal or moral principle by which a person may be tried on a second charge while the first trial is pending.

Mrs. Hudson insisted upon separating the charges—a right clearly ours, if we had insisted upon it—and we consented. Now we shall insist upon the proper course being pursued.

Therefore, we appeal to the Delegate Committee to decide the Seventh Ward case before the others are taken up. I shall not appear for trial again until the first case is fully disposed of.

Respectfully and fraternally,
E. E. Carr.

Our appeal to the Delegate Committee was UTTERLY IGNORED by the Grievance Committee and IN COMRADE CARR'S ABSENCE they went through the farce of taking up the last two charges and hearing evidence upon ONE SIDE ONLY in order to report all three cases as one. In these circumstances, of course, Barnes and Mrs. Hudson had everything their own way with the Committee and secured condemnation of Comrade Carr on all three charges with a recommendation of expulsion.

TEXAS HEARD FROM—SOCIALIST PARTY OF TEXAS

E. R. Meitzen, State Sec.

Hallettsville, Texas,
July 5, '11.

Rev. E. E. Carr, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Comrade—Note that you have been fired from local Chicago. At least two hundred Texas locals would welcome you with open arms. Come to Texas, comrade, where people on the whole are cleaner than in the sinks of iniquity—the great cities.

If you can't come to Texas you at least have our sympathy and promise of assistance wherever you may land, or however hard the beaurocracy may land on you.

Your time is coming and coming fast.

Yours fraternally,
E. R. MEITZEN.

The International Socialist Review for April says: "We agree with the New York Call in holding the present National Executive Committee in no very high esteem."

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

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The weekly Christian Socialist was entered as second-class matter January 5, 1911, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

"What fools we mortals be!"

* * *

"He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh—the Lord shall have them in derision."

* * *

"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

* * *

A friend writes us the following to which we say a most hearty "amen":

"Socialism is greater than any individual and more important than any of the controversies of its followers. May it grow strong, notwithstanding all our blunders and our faults, and in spite of all injustice and intolerance toward each other."

* * *

STAY IN THE PARTY

Some indignant comrades have written us that they will leave the Socialist Party on account of the misconduct of the Barnes case and the expulsion of Comrade Carr. But we say, STAY IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY and help make it what it ought to be.

IF DEMOCRACY IS IMPOSSIBLE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY WITH THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE ANYWHERE. The rank and file can rule the Socialist party if they will. They can make it whatever they want it to be; therefore STAY IN AND HELP RULE THE PARTY RIGHT. STAY IN AND HELP WIN THE FIGHT. DON'T BE A QUITTER. Buckle on the armor of righteousness and serve notice on the misleaders that they must go to the rear. The forces of righteousness and freedom need you in this battle. Stand firm and we shall win.

* * *

THE DREYFUS CASE

Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, was arrested Oct. 18, 1894, on the charge of high treason; he was accused of having furnished French military plans to German army officials. Being courtmartialed, he was condemned on evidence so weak that it had to be supplemented by forged documents two years later. And in order to shield Count De Esterhazy, the real traitor, some one had to be unjustly condemned, therefore, as Dreyfus was in ill favor with his fellow officials because he was a Jew, they thought that by falsified evidence and an appeal to popular anti-Jewish prejudice, they could condemn him in place of De Esterhazy.

Dreyfus was convicted and publicly degraded before the army and a vast concourse of people. His sword was broken and cast dishonored to the ground; his epaulettes were torn from him; his uniform was stripped away, and bitter, crushing words of condemnation were spoken. Then the innocent, outraged, helpless victim was banished to Devil's Island, where he was kept in solitary confinement, not even permitted to speak with his guards or enjoy the common decencies of life, in sweltering, blinding, blistering heat, for five, terrible years. Had he not possessed unsurpassed courage he would have perished or became insane. But he stoutly asserted his innocence and hoped for ultimate vindication.

Meanwhile the truth began gradually to leak out. First, a revelation of the weakness of the case against him; then rumors of forged evidence, and finally, Emile Zola, the great French novelist, took up his cause and thundered the truth throughout France until the Government was compelled to bring Dreyfus home for a new trial.

One of the strongest obstacles in the way of justice was the so-called "honor of the army." Hypocrites and their tools said that to clear Dreyfus at last would lower the army in the eyes of the people—but Zola demanded justice. They said that Dreyfus was only a Jew, despised by the French nation in general—but Zola trumpeted the call for justice. They said he was guilty of other serious offenses anyway (which was false)—but Zola still called for justice.

As a result of the new trial, Dreyfus was cleared, restored to the army and promoted to the rank of major. Esterhazy was revealed as the real traitor, with others, and he fled, afterwards committing suicide.

Already the Carr case has been referred to by Comrade Fraenckel as "the American Dreyfus case," because Comrade Carr is evidently being persecuted to shield others; because an attempt has been made to "save the honor" and "welfare" of the party by an act of injustice; because a bitter and determined appeal has been made to the anti-Christian prejudices of atheists and Jews—**and because Comrade Carr is sure of vindication at last.** The Atheists and Jews themselves will demand his honorable reinstatement when they learn the truth.

Who dares prove to be the Zola in the Carr case?

In this connection we desire you to read Markham's matchless poem about the Dreyfus case in France.

* * *

DREYFUS

By Edwin Markham in Lincoln and Other Poems

A man stood stained! France was one Alp of hate,
Pressing upon him with its iron weight.
In all the circle of the ancient sun,
There was no voice to speak for him—not one.
In all the world of men there was no sound
But of a sword flung—broken—to the ground.
" 'Tis done!" they said, "unless a felon soul
Can tear the leaves out of the Judgment Scroll."

Hell laughed a little season, then behold
How one by one the gates of God unfold!
Swiftly a sword, by Unseen Forces hurled,
And then a man rising against the world!

OH, IMPORT DEEP AS LIFE IS, DEEP AS TIME!
THERE IS A SOMETHING SACRED AND SUBLIME,
MOVING BEHIND THE WORLDS, BEYOND OUR KEN,
WEIGHING THE STARS, WEIGHING THE DEEDS OF MEN.

Take heart, O soul of sorrow, and be strong:
There is One greater than the whole world's wrong.
Be hushed before the high benignant Power
That goes untarrying to the reckoning hour.

O men that forge the fetter, it is vain:
There is a Still Hand stronger than your chain.
'Tis no avail to bargain, sneer, and nod,
And shrug the shoulder for reply to God.

ATTORNEY CUNNEA

The thanks of the managers of the **Christian Socialist** are especially due to Attorney W. A. Cunnea, a prominent Chicago lawyer, a learned, witty Irishman, a Roman Catholic, a Socialist party member of twelve years' standing, and a thorough gentleman, for his able and generous defense of Comrade Carr and the **Christian Socialist.** His services were voluntary and he refused to accept a dollar in remuneration. "He's all right."

Defeat referendum "B," if you want better things in the Socialist party. **Vote No on referendum "B."**

HOW IT LOOKS TO ME

By Harvey P. Moyer

As President of the Co-operative Printing Company, publishers of the **Christian Socialist,** I am asked: (1) What I think of the action of the Cook County, Illinois, Delegate Committee in expelling from the Socialist Party our editor, Rev. E. E. Carr, and (2) What are we going to do about it?

Expressing myself briefly, I would answer, (1) I think this action is the most unreasonable blunder the Party has ever made; (2) That we propose to go right ahead trying to make the **Christian Socialist** the greatest Socialist propaganda paper in the country; for we believe there is no more conscientious and able editor in the Socialist movement today than Comrade Carr; nor is there a more strategic nor more necessary movement for the rapid growth and final success of the Socialist Party than the Christian Socialist movement.

I believe my first statement will be fully substantiated by the various explanatory articles in this issue. But in further proof I wish to briefly summarize the main facts as they look to me.

It is manifestly clear to me that,—

1. The complaints against the National Secretary filed with the N. E. C. by Comrades Brower, Flaherty and Mother Jones were presented in good faith and to the proper tribunal, and that the N. E. C. violated its trust as Party arbitrator in dismissing the case without either hearing the complainants or investigating the truth of the charges.

2. The demand of the **Christian Socialist** for a fair and open investigation in the interest of the Party and of the accused was just and reasonable.

3. The attack upon the **Christian Socialist** in the National Party Bulletin and the notice served upon Editor Carr to appear before a trial committee because he had dared to ask for such an investigation was an imperious, autocratic assumption of authority—unsocialistic and wholly subversive of free speech and press freedom.

4. The minutes of the "Investigating Committee" reveal a manifest determination to shield the accused Secretary whatever testimony might be presented, and this committee's report wholly exonerating the National Secretary from all censure while scathingly denouncing every complainant is wholly unwarranted by the evidence offered and is worse than unsocialistic. The assertion in this committee's report that upon "the examination" of Comrade Carr he was found guilty of "wilful lying and deliberate distortion of facts" was itself a wilful and deliberate distortion of the real facts; for he was never tried, examined, or even allowed to testify before this "investigating" (?) committee.

5. The publication in the **Christian Socialist** of the gist of the evidence of this trial of national importance to the Party, because it involved its highest officials, was not only justified, but was an obligation to all those who value the maintenance of party honor and integrity. Indeed, after such an infamous report as the above, in sheer self-respect, Comrade Carr could have done nothing less.

From the standpoint of expediency, none could feel more keenly than did Editor Carr that it was not "diplomatic" to publish these facts. It is ever infinitely easier to wink at wrong than to help to overthrow it.

6. In the final trials of Comrade Carr before the Grievance and Delegate committees, the impassioned appeals for sympathy, chivalry, and even "personal liberty" for the women were of decidedly more weight than was the testimony of a number of witnesses direct and by personal letters as to the accuracy of the charges originally made against the National Secretary by Mothers Jones et al. and the truthfulness of the testimony published by the **Christian Socialist.**

7. Both the Grievance and Delegate Committee did Comrade Carr a grave injustice in that they each absolutely refused to allow him an opportunity to make a final reply to the flood of vituperation, misrepresentation of facts, and false accusations as to his motives, "animus," etc. And, yet, the Press Committee unblushingly asserts that he was given "un-

limited time and opportunity to defend himself."

8. The Grievance Committee was very hard pressed for grounds on which to justify their recommendation for expulsion when they falsely declared Carr represented that "the whole (Socialist) Party is corrupt" and that "the movement as a whole stands for the worst form of immorality."

And the Press Committee unwittingly asserts likewise that Mr. Carr was "expelled . . . because he slandered the Party by declaring that it advocated and practises free love."

COMRADE CARR NEVER HAS IN SPEECH OR PUBLICATION DECLARED THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY "ADVOVATES AND PRACTICES FREE LOVE." ON THE CONTRARY HE HAS AGAIN AND AGAIN EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE RANK AND FILE OF THE SOCIALIST COMRADES. The whole message of the **Christian Socialist** and all the work of Comrade Carr for the last ten years are unmistakable proofs of his confidence in and loyalty to the Socialist movement and the comrades in general.

Was there ever a greater perversion of facts? Was there ever a ranker injustice than this expulsion of a faithful comrade on such a false basis? Will the Cook County Socialists tolerate such intolerance?

9. The Grievance and Press Committees, in persistently representing that the Charges, made originally by three non-Christian Socialists, were "Carr's Charges," could not have repeated this fundamental error seven or eight times without having had a deliberate purpose in view—other than a desire to do Comrade Carr justice.

The facts were well known that Carr had nothing to do with the original charges and did not even know what they were until months after they had been presented to the N. E. C. Yet so possessed were the members of this grievance committee with this one erroneous idea about "Carr's Charges" that they even ridiculously denounced him for not presenting "his charges," which he never made, to the proper authorities.

10. The following paragraph from the Press Committee's report is a sample of the unfair argument and false logic used throughout this "trial" to induce comrades to expel Comrade Carr:

"It also appears that to keep Mr. Carr in the party would give support to his false charges and bring discredit upon the Socialist movement and, therefore, the party was compelled to remove him from its membership."

Now, just how will Carr's expulsion for demanding an investigation OF OTHER PEOPLE'S CHARGES, and for publishing the evidence in this case (his only real "offenses") clear the Party from the stigma of free love and immorality as long as the evidence stands in the record unrefuted as to the real facts originally charged not by Carr, as the Committee would have it, but by Mother Jones, Brower, and Miss Flaherty?

Stripped of all verbiage and misunderstanding, the bald facts are that the accused National Secretary and all implicated with him, in the face of charges substantiated by direct witnesses and by letters over personal signatures—testimony that has not been disproved, have been "vindicated" through venomous oratory and passionate appeal, while the man who has given the best years of his life to rescue the Socialist movement from the common charges of free love and immorality is ousted for disloyalty to the Party.

Not until this stain is wiped out by the Cook county Delegate Committtee by a reversal of their action, and Comrade Carr is reinstated into full membership in the Socialist Party, can the Socialist Party meet the inevitable criticism that it stands in fact against the freedom of the press, is opposed to the stand for morality in the Party, and is intolerant beyond even the actions of the capitalist courts.

And what then shall we do?

Do just what we have always done. Stand right by the Socialist Party, and do all in our power to induce good people to join it. The majority of the people are right, honorable, and just. The majority of the Socialists are the same, as we have always contended. We feel sure that even the majority of the delegates of Cook County are equally just and honorable, though some in this case have been mislead and misguided. Just as soon as they see the injustice done in this case, as some are already beginning to see, they will do the right thing by Comrade Carr.

We know we are right and we know the right will prevail. We can afford to wait our time; for truth and justice are bound to win in the end.

The Fairness of the Investigation

Fairness, like other virtues, must be considered relatively. One may aim to be fair yet be so blinded by misinformation, wrong ideas and prejudiced feelings that he can not actually be fair. This is why civil courts, even under capitalism, will not force a juror on a case to which either side is able to state reasonable cause for objection. A juror holding office or any job under the prosecution or defense, or being under other obligation to either side, or known to have expressed an opinion of condemnation against either side, would not be allowed to serve. But as Socialist Party trials are now held, there is no way by which one can sift the jury of prejudiced men.

As the Grievance Committee of Cook County WAS constituted at the time charges were preferred against Comrade Carr, it was as impartial as could be expected from a jury which neither side had a right to challenge, **because it had been elected before it was known there would ever be a Carr trial.** There may have been some prejudiced on one side and some on the other; but, at least, neither side could have reasonably accused the other of getting the jury packed.

But, AFTER THE CARR CASE WAS GIVEN TO THE GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE, AND AFTER THE COMMITTEE HAD HELD ITS PRELIMINARY MEETING, the Delegate Committee, **in the absence of Comrade Fraenckel,** chairman of the Grievance Committee and one of its strongest members, arbitrarily removed him from the Committee and gave his place to Comrade Goldenstein, who admitted at the trial that he had stated publicly that Mr. Carr ought to be expelled, and who afterwards stated at the Delegate Committee meeting that a preacher should not belong to the party because he could not be "class conscious." Comrade Goldenstein seems an earnest, honest man; but with such preconceived opinions he could not justly try the Carr care.

Another member of this committee at the first session of the trial he attended objected to the introduction of certain testimony on the ground that **it is no more reprehensible to inquire for an assignation house than for a hat store!** Naturally he could not recognize the fine points of Comrade Carr's defense! Another member previous to the trial, and also while it was going on, freely said that **they were going to put Carr out of the Party.** His mind being stubbornly made up in advance, the evidence did not weigh much with him.

It was noticed very early in the trial that upon all points of order and objection the Committee ruled against the motions of Comrade Carr's attorney by a vote of three to two, or four to one, and except in two or three instances, this was the showing throughout. And it was well known who the three and the two, or the four and the one were.

However, in spite of the unjury-like conditions noted, the Grievance Committee seemed to take its work seriously; and, with one or two exceptions, to listen very carefully and earnestly to the testimony.

And, but for the one serious mistake of going on with the pretense of a trial by hearing only one side while Comrade Carr was absent resting on his appeal to the Delegate Committee, the Grievance Committee would in all probability have returned a verdict of actquittal on the 7th Ward charges. **It was up to the point of that preposterous mistake, and not afterwards,** that Carr expressed his opinion that the jury was trying to be fair. Even then, we think it was overinfluenced and misled rather than deliberately wrong.

And the earnestness and apparent intention to be fair on the part of the Grievance Committee was in very marked contrast to the brutal buldozing, ceaseless interruptions and unblushing flippancy and partiality of the previous "Investigating Committee" that so beautifully whitewashed Barnes. The faults of the Grievance Committee seemed involuntary and appeared to grow out of lack of experience, lack of skillful discrimination and lack of religious and party **tolerance,** rather than from wilful injustice.

How the Trial Proceeded

At the first session of the trial the prosecution introduced only the 7th Ward charges as printed in the report. They were so lacking in specifications that they were unworthy of admission, but the defense let them pass without objection, and the prosecution, represented by Seymour Stedman and David Bentall, proceeded to introduce copies of the **Christian Socialist** as evidence. Carr's attorney, Comrade W. A. Cunnea, inquired if all the contents of these papers were to be introduced as evidence of slander, including the pictures of Mother Jones and Comrade Brower! **It was evident that the prosecuting attorneys were depending upon the prejudice of the jury and had not prepared their case and did not know what they were to specialize on.** But they replied, pages so and so, and columns so and so. Comrade Cunnea thereupon demanded that they read all the parts they wished to introduce, and they spent the first evening reading column after column and page after page of the **Christian Socialist** without knowing what to read and what to leave out. They read our stirring appeal concerning the "Dastardly Attack on Mother Jones"—very good reading for our side—and the "Irishman's Witnesses," etc., etc., until they were out of breath and had to relieve each other; but the defense insisted that they read on until they had fully covered the ground. And then, **without especially selecting any particular parts of what they had read,** they rested their case without introducing a witness or presenting a specific paragraph or clause upon which they demanded a conviction.

Their case was a farce, as presented, and should have been dismissed then. But the Committee was tired, as were we all, for even the **Christian Socialist** makes one tired, if read by the hour by its enemies against their will, and the trial was adjourned till next night.

An Infamous Trick

When the trial opened the second night, Cunnea moved to dismiss the case on the ground that the prosecution had rested its case without producing any specified matter or evidence to prove the general charge. The motion was argued briefly and the Committee rejected it and ordered the defense to proceed.

It is evident that at this point the Committee made a serious mistake, whether of judgment or animus we do not know. Doubtless any real court of law would have dismissed the case at this point.

However, at the order of the Committee, the defense proceeded to answer unspecified charges and unsupported generalities. There was nothing definite enough to require the introduction of witnesses, therefore the attorney for the defense put Comrade Carr forward to make a detailed statement of how and why the **Christian Socialist** published matter on the Barnes case and especially to answer the report of the "Investigating Committee" upon whose recommendation the 7th Ward was supposed to be acting. Then the defense rested. And, to the utter astonishment and indignation of all fair minded people, one of the prosecuting attornies, Stedman, began his argument—**having fully rested his case the night before, remember**—with a list of nine specifications quoting certain passages from the **Christian Socialist** and declared dramatically that these statements had not been proved; therefore the editor of the paper should be condemned and expelled.

No sooner was his tirade finished that Attorney Cunnea was on his feet with indignant, scathing eloquence **condemning the introduction of those specifications at the last moment in a closing argument as one of the most infamous and contemptible tricks he ever saw in court and demanded of the Committee an adjournment over Sunday to permit time for considering and preparing the answer to those untimely specifications.**

The motion to postpone further trial until Tuesday and to reopen the whole case was granted.

Stedman a Victim

We understand that Stedman was somewhat of a victim to Barnes' cunning; that those belated specifications were hastily prepared by Barnes, the accused National Secretary, and thrust into Stedman's hands so late that he had not time properly to consider the matter. Was it because Stedman felt so cut up over Cunnea's just scorn and Barnes' scurvy trick that he deserted the case and did not again appear in it?

Moreover, **the presentation of those specifications as a part of the 7th Ward charges was ENTIRELY FRAUDULENT, as the 7th Ward never saw nor approved them as a part of its charges.**

The Mysterious Minutes

Since the defense was required to meet specifications unheard of before, and as much of the testimony desired was already officially recorded in the stenographic minutes of the Barnes trial (a copy of which, remember, was especially made for us by order of the Investigating Committee and afterwards refused us), Carr's attorney demanded that a copy of the minutes be furnished for use in the trial. This caused evident consternation and met with strenuous objection. IT IS AMAZING HOW VERY MUCH AFRAID THE BARNES CROWD IS LEST THE CONTENTS OF THOSE MINUTES BECOME KNOWN TO THE COMRADES. But the ridicule and sarcasm of Comrade Carr concerning the fatal (?) results of bringing a copy of those sacred, mysterious minutes down one flight of stairs from the National Office above to the room below, so pricked Barnes' pride that he promised to bring them, although he had repeatedly declared that he had no authority nor right to do so. What nonsense!

And when Fraenckel, **before he was removed from the Grievance Committee to make room for one already committed to condemn Carr,** asked for a copy of those mysterious minutes to help the Committee in its work, the Delegate Committee, after a hot argument, refused to ask for the use of a copy (there are three) because, as some said, if it were taken from the National Office away from the care of the National Secretary (**so interested in guard-**

ing it) all or parts of it might be copied and circulated—and that would be terrible!

WHEN WILL IT EVER DAWN UPON THE MINDS OF THE COMRADES GENERALLY THAT THERE MUST BE SOMETHING IN THOSE MINUTES WORTH WHILE FOR BARNES AND OTHERS TO HIDE FROM THE RANK AND FILE AND WORTH WHILE FOR THE RANK AND FILE TO KNOW?

We have frequently demanded that the minutes be printed. There is plenty of money in the treasury. Their suppression is a crime against the Socialist Party. But they should be "O. K.'d" by both sides before they are printed as the Investigating Committee agreed they should be before they were closed. And when they are printed, if ever, we will be glad to cite the pages most worth reading out of the mass of useless matter admitted.

Do not forget that the Editor of the **Christian Socialist** has been expelled from the Socialist Party **for printing the gist of the evidence introduced at the Barnes trial.** WE DENY THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY SHOULD BE RUN AS A SECRET SOCIETY BY STAR CHAMBER METHODS AND DECLARE THAT ALL COMRADES HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH. All official actions should be fully known. All the comrades have a right to the complete minutes of the Barnes case. We did no wrong in printing what we had space for.

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THE BELATED SPECIFICATIONS

The following are the specifications against Comrade Carr, introduced at the close of the second night's session of the trial, **twenty-four hours after the prosecution had fully rested their case.**

Specification 1. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 6th, 1911, page 5, Col. 3:

"The Socialist Party of America has no more hope of victory if it refuses to condemn free love than it has of governing the planet Mars next year.

"Away with such rank idiocy. Relegate such fools to the rear, if there be such among our officers and organizers."

Comrade Carr's answer to this amazing charge (?) was that it was and is a statement of his candid opinion to which he has a perfect right and that to expel a person from the party for expressing an opinion, **especially such an opinion,** would not only be extremely unjust but insane.

Specification 2. From the April 20th, 1911, issue of the **Christian Socialist,** page 1, Col. 2:

"The National, State and City officials and lecturers, upon whom all hostile eyes are bent, should be particularly free from drunkenness, licentiousness and dishonesty. We have the gravest reasons for believing that the influence of three or four women—all 'grass widows'—and a few men of similar mind and heart, have vastly injured the movement in Chicago and other parts of the country."

Comrade Carr replied that the first part of the specification was and is his earnest opinion to which he had a perfect right and would adhere. And being thus challenged to show why he had grave reasons for believing the latter part of the statement quoted, he cited the recent referendum in Montana, wherein a part of the misconduct of Ida Crouch Hazlett is shown and whereby the Party in Montana decided not to pay dues to the National office until the conduct of the National Office with reference to Mrs. Hazlett is changed.

Comrade Carr also told of his observations while traveling as a lecturer which furnished "grave reasons for believing."

The interview with S. L. V. Young and his telegram; the interview with Mr. and Mrs. Slusser and their letter (printed in our issue of April 20th); the evidence of Jas. H. Brower, Miss Flaherty, Mrs. Quimby, and Walter Rihl were introduced. (See issue of April 20.) And on the whole the very "gravest reasons" were presented for believing the statement true.

And, supposing Comrade Carr's reasons did not seem convincing to others, **should he be expelled from the party for expressing a belief that he had acquired by six years' travel as a Socialist lecturer and four years' residence in Chicago?**

Specification 3. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20, 1911, page 2, Col. 1:

"On page 664 the minutes show that the reporter deliberately suppressed the discussion about Carr's right to testify in rebuttal to Barnes, and introduces a gratuitous parenthetical note to supply the omission leaving the reader in the dark as to what the argument was about. (Because the argument showed how Mrs. Lewis was involved by her own admissions of unusual intimacy with Barnes.)"

Comrade Carr showed conclusively by the transcript of the original notes furnished by the official stenographer **that his statement in Specification 3** is absolutely correct. By what strange freak of mental gymnastics the Committee concluded this specification to be unsupported, we can not imagine. **We appeal to the records themselves.**

Specification 4. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20th, 1911, page 2, Col. 1:

"There is no use trying to answer Goldstein, Dixon, Hill, et al, if we do not keep the official part of our party clean. Free-love officials and free-love national organizers can never win America to Socialism.":

Comrade Carr declared that the statement records his opinion, to which he has a perfect right, whether all others agree with him or not. And it is safe to say that nearly all party members will agree with this view.

It was a fine stroke of genius, if not factional madness, that expelled Comrade Carr from the Socialist party for expressing sentiments like these!

Specification 5. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20th, 1911, page 4, Col. 1:

"We do not mean to infer that Berger did any greater wrong those nights than to keep a woman at work with him so late in such an out of the way place; but we do say that a grave indiscretion was committed, and that a woman careful of her reputation will not frequently commit the indiscretion of working alone with a man, not her husband, on the fourth floor of a deserted office building until long after midnight."

In reply, **Carr cited the minutes which substantiated his statement of** [illegible] re-emphasized his opinion that such conduct is unnecessary and indiscreet. We appeal to all people who care for their reputations to say whether Comrade Carr's opinion is correct or wrong. **Certainly he should not have been expelled from the party for expressing it.**

The cowardly and hypocritical attempt to make it appear that he had tried to smirch Berger with the immorality charged against Barnes and Mrs. Hudson by Miss Flaherty and others is one of the most contemptible things in this persecution of Carr. He simply cited Berger's own testimony to show that for Berger to prove that Mrs. Hudson was receiving dictations from him at 2 o'clock in the morning on the fourth floor of a big office building and that she had drunk liquor with him on some occasions **did not clear her of the charge of drinking and keeping late hours with Barnes on other occasions.** Carr stood by his guns with reference to this matter.

And we insist that union hours should prevail at the National Office, and that if night work is necessary a male stenographer should be employed.

Specification 6. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20, 1911, page 4, Col. 1:

"Should not every loyal comrade object to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party remaining 'a number of times' alone with a woman not his wife on the fourth floor of a big office building (180 Washington street) at such hours of the night. And if the committee had asked men about the building they would have found that such things were common with Barnes and Mrs. Hudson.

"We venture the assertion, Comrade Ameringer, that for a man and woman to be frequently together for hours on the fourth floor of a big building in the middle of the night is fully as reprehensible as 'sitting in the tall grass.'"

To support the above statements Comrade Carr cited the minutes which show Barnes' admissions of working with Mrs. Hudson a number of times until 11 and 12 o'clock at night. Ameringer's words about the "tall grass" were also cited from the minutes.

Also James Larson and Miss Flaherty were put on the witness stand to prove that Barnes and Mrs. Hudson often remained at the National Office until very late at night; and **Miss Flaherty testified that the only thing next day to show that they had worked overtime were the empty whiskey bottles which appeared from time to time,** to the number of twelve on the shelf, and two in the drawers in Barnes' office where she had to look for papers necessary in her work.

We believe that Carr "made good" on specification six, and that the committee thought so at the time. Whether he did or not, should a man be expelled from the party for saying that?

Specification 7. From the **Christian Socialist,** of April 20, 1911, page 4, column 2:

"Barnes knew of such conduct on Mrs. Lewis' part at this and other places for years from different letters and from different people, yet continued to welcome her at the National office."

In parenthesis, the specification inserts after the words "such conduct" the expression, "She constantly talked free love, behaved in an unseemly manner," taken from another connection; and omitted the rest of the paragraph which states that he not only welcomed her at the National office but **"went out with her by day and night and sent her as a National organizer wherever she wished to go."**

Comrade Carr supported this paragraph with his own statement and Barnes' admission in the part of the minutes struck out of the Investigating Committee's report, but reintroduced at the Carr trial, that Barnes knew from him, and from the Slussers, of Mrs. Lewis' conduct at Slusser's years ago; and Miss Flaherty's personal testimony and Mrs. Quimby's letter were produced to show that Mrs. Lewis showed signs of liquor and talked loudly and coarsely of free love in the National office itself where Barnes could not help knowing it. Yet she continued in his especial favor as an organizer and he continued to go out with her.

Specification 8. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20, page 6, column 3:

"But the committee did find that an angelic creature named Mrs. Hudson found it necessary to secure apartments at a hotel on more than one occasion in order to take **dictations** from several members of the National Executive Committee and that those **dictations** were taken until long after midnight.

"What emergency arose in the Socialist Party that this accused 'soul-mate' or 'affinity' of Barnes must remain in a hotel-taking 'dictations' at hours of the night when honest and moral people are wrapped in the arms of Morpheus."

The above specification is a part of a long article on the Barnes case quoted in the **Christian Socialist** from **THE MINERS' MAGAZINE,** official organ of the Western Federation of Miners. If the accused have strenuous objections to it, why not tackle the Miners' Magazine? "There is a reason." They dare not. But they evidently thought that an appeal to anti-religious prejudice would enable them to secure the condemnation of the editor of the **Christian Socialist.**

The Miners' Magazine was misled by the false report of the "Investigating Committee" to believe that the dictations referred to until two o'clock in the morning were at a hotel and taken from several members of the N. E. C., **whereas they were taken on the fourth floor of 180 Washington street from one man only.**

There is no doubt that Mrs. Hudson was ACCUSED of being the "soul-mate" or "affinity" of Barnes. This accusation was plainly stated in the Provoker and clearly implied in Miss Flaherty's charges and the testimony of herself and Mrs. Quimby.

Whether the editor of the **Christian Socialist** should have been expelled from the Socialist Party for reprinting the above from the Miners' Magazine in the circumstances, let the reader judge.

If, as the N. E. C. and the Investigating Committee decided, the Socialist Party should not undertake to protect Mother Jones from the refusal of Barnes to pay his debt to her, **why should the party undertake to punish a paper for printing or reprinting a report of indiscretion concerning a party member with a party official?**

And if the parties referred to have been wronged seriously by the Miners' Magazine or the **Christian Socialist,** WHY DO THEY NOT SEEK REDRESS IN LAW?

Specification 9. From the **Christian Socialist** of April 20, 1911, page 6, column 1:

"The Miners' Magazine was misled about Mrs. Hudson having received shorthand dictation from the members of the N. E. C. at a hotel till a long after midnight. The facts are not so favorable to her."

Comrade Carr's defense of this comment was that **to receive dictation at a late hour in a public place, like a hotel, from a committee of several men, is not so indiscreet as to receive dictation from one man on the top floor of a big building until 2 a. m.** The truth of the observation is self evident to every candid mind.

Comrade Carr made good on all these specifications without doubt; but supposing he had failed to show that any one or all of these flimsy specifications are correct and true, **would that be sufficient reason for expelling him from the Socialist Party?**

Dare not a member of the Socialist Party criticise its officials? THE OFFICIALS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAVE CERTAINLY DONE ALL THEY CAN TO JUSTIFY HERBERT SPENCER'S CLAIM THAT IF SOCIALISM WERE ADOPTED IT WOULD PROVE A HOPELESS TYRANNY WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE OVERTHROWN BY THE SWORD. **Will the members of the Socialist Party stand for such tyranny and oppression on the part of their officials?** WILL YOU?

Conclusion of Trial.

The conclusion of the trial on the 7th Ward charges was unexpectedly sudden, as the prosecution did not attempt a regular defense by witnesses. Mrs. Hudson testified briefly and Barnes made a lengthy speech which was introduced under the claim that it was a statement of testimony but proved to be mainly an attorney's argument and appeal to passion. And when Comrade Carr requested an opportunity to reply to Barnes, Flora, a member of the trial committee, left his place and blustered against permitting Carr to speak, **and the right was denied.**

David Bentall made one closing speech for the prosecution, and Dan White, of Massachusetts, who had been brought in during the last day after it became apparent that Stedman would not appear again, made a lengthy closing speech, making three closing arguments—with Barnes' oration—for the prosecution, against one for the defense.

But it must be admitted that Attorney Cunnea's one magnificent address was worth far more than all the opposing three. His argument was keenly analytical, witty, eloquent and tremendously convincing.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE CASE ON THE 7TH WARD CHARGES WAS FAIRLY WON. **And that the Barnes crowd knew it was won is manifest from the next disreputable trick they sprung—and worked upon the trial committee.**

(See "A Change of Mind," page 4.)

LARSEN'S TESTIMONY

Mrs. Hudson charged among other things that Carr "manufactured" the evidence reputed to Jas. P. Larsen in our April 20 number, Col. 3, page 4, and Madsen made a strong plea based on that false assertion. But Larsen made those statements at different times to E. E. Carr, H. P. Moyer, Marguerite Flaherty, Walter Rihl and others, and our account is therefore fully substantiated.

"NO EVIDENCE WHATEVER."

The statement that Carr had "no evidence whatever"—in view of the fact that by the direct oral testimony of witnesses, direct testimony by letters and direct testimony from the minutes of the Barnes case we presented the evidence cited in our issue of April 20, and more besides—proves that the Press Committee was not trying to get anywhere near the truth, but to deceive the comrades at large.

SEND COPIES TO US.

Any comrades who write letters or send branch resolutions commending Comrade Carr or condemning his expulsion to the Cook County Delegate Committee, the Daily Socialist, or elsewhere, should send copies of such communications to the **Christian Socialist,** lest they fail entirely of their object by suppression.